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Chapter 16

Why Cluster? Text and Sub-text in the Engagement of Tourism Development Policies with the Cluster Concept

Adi Weidenfeld, Allan M. Williams and Richard W. Butler

14 Introduction

16 Economic policies in advanced capitalist economies are increasingly engaging 16
17 with clusters as a strategy for increasing competitiveness (Novelli, Schmitz and 17
18 Spencer 2006). As a concept, clustering, as applied in economic and industrial 18
19 policies, has passed from the status of innovative theorisation, through the stage 19
20 of fashionability to late maturity and critical reflection (Maskell and Malmberg 20
21 2007). But the application of clusters in the tourism sector has come late in these 21
22 policy discourses. This chapter explores engagement with and resistance to the 22
23 concept of clusters within tourism policy and practice, drawing on a case study of 23
24 tourism attraction clusters and policy making in Cornwall, England. 24

25 This chapter tells the story of how the opaqueness of tourism clusters has 25
26 contributed to contested meanings, to the difficulties of embodying the cluster 26
27 concept in policies, and in implementing notions of clusters via development 27
28 approval processes. The interpretation and implementation of tourism clusters 28
29 is influenced by two factors: the formal manifestation of 'clusters' as in written 29
30 policy and the 'informal' way in which the notion of 'clusters' is given meaning 30
31 in policies and operationalised in practice; this is what we term the difference 31
32 between 'text' and 'sub text'. 32

33 An examination of issues related to translating the cluster concept from theory 33
34 into practice reveals different approaches to understanding tourism planning and 34
35 policy making. Sustained commitment to neoliberal policy directions emerged in 35
36 competing forms in the more developed economies at different times from the 36
37 late 1970s and the 1980s (The introduction of the Book). In essence this involved 37
38 a rolling back of the frontiers of the state, through deregulation and public 38
39 sector cut backs, so that private capital took a leading role in driving economic 39
40 development (Hudson and Williams 1999). This is the context in which the emergence 40
41 of tourism clusters is seen as deliberate or accidental, with winners and losers. The 41
42 cluster concept draws on a critical, social constructionist approach, which refers 42
43 to the product of human choices (bottom-up), rather than dictated by laws and 43
44

1 regulations. It helps to explain the complexities of tourism planning and policy 1
 2 making, especially under neoliberalism. 2

3 However, there remain significant gaps between the rhetoric and reality of 3
 4 neoliberalism. Governments have demonstrated uneven involvement in and 4
 5 support of tourism, making it difficult to make generalised claims about the 5
 6 influence of neoliberal management on tourism. However, in many developed 6
 7 economies, tourism is one policy area that has generally been characterised by 7
 8 a decline in direct government involvement and increased adoption of facilitator 8
 9 and/or enabler roles. At the same time, governments have encouraged industry to 9
 10 develop clusters and networks as a means of improving market competitiveness, 10
 11 awareness and strength. This approach has been woven into formal and informal 11
 12 policies, but there has also been an increasing reflexivity amongst the key actors. 12
 13 That is, stakeholders have increased flexibility to interpret and give meaning to 13
 14 various policies. 14

15 This chapter explores how these contradictory forces play out in the decisions 15
 16 and actions of the actors and agencies involved, and in the structures and practices 16
 17 of tourism planning and policy making. The chapter provides an opportunity to 17
 18 examine how cluster theory has been translated and given meaning in tourism, and 18
 19 it enhances our understanding of the challenges of translating clustering policies 19
 20 into practice. This chapter focuses on the relatively understudied attraction sector 20
 21 in two tourism clusters in Cornwall with low and high levels of agglomeration of 21
 22 visitor attractions respectively. In doing so, it explores differences in how clusters 22
 23 have evolved, and how tourism stakeholders engage with cluster development. 23

24 The chapter begins by exploring the literature on the cluster concept and 24
 25 clustering policies in tourism, followed by the methodology and a critical review 25
 26 of current tourism development policies in the study areas. It then explores the 26
 27 engagement with the cluster concept amongst tourism stakeholders and how this is 27
 28 understood and operationalised by attraction operators. The next section continues 28
 29 through individual 'stories' reflecting the ways policies are implemented and 29
 30 shape tourism clusters. The case study provides an insight into the reasons for 30
 31 the locations of some of the visitor attractions in the study areas and illustrates 31
 32 the nature of the planning decision making processes in the context of spatial 32
 33 clustering in theory and practice. This exploration also reveals how formal and 33
 34 informal policies, related to clustering, including cooperation, competition and 34
 35 enhancing knowledge transfer and diffusion of innovations between tourism firms, 35
 36 influence the development planning process, which we refer to as the text and sub- 36
 37 text of our story about clusters and tourism policies in Cornwall. 37

38
 39

40 **Tourism Clusters: From Theory into Practice** 40
 41 41

42 The spatial cluster model has been applied predominantly to manufacturing 42
 43 industries such as automotive engineering rather than to services or to tourism 43
 44 in particular. However, it is increasingly being applied to tourism. In this chapter 44

we adopt Jackson and Murphy's (2006) cluster approach, which sees the outcome of agglomeration of tourism businesses in a tourism space as an industrial cluster (Porter 1990, 1998). According to Porter (1990 cited in Ketels 2003: 3–4) 'clusters are groups of companies and institutions co-located in a specific geographic region linked by interdependencies in providing a related group of products and/or services'. Due to geographic proximity, cluster constituents are said to enjoy the economic benefits of several types of positive and location-specific externalities (Ketels 2003) endowing them with competitive advantages (Nordin 2003). Based on Porter's (1998) cluster theory and its applicability to tourism (Cracolici and Nijkamp 2006, Vanhove 2006, 2002, Nordin 2003), competitiveness in tourism clusters is understood to be determined by three key issues: (1) factor and demand conditions; (2) the context for firms' strategies and rivalries; and (3) related and supporting industries. Adapting this model to the tourism industry with issues related to each of these aspects is illustrated in Figure 16.1 as detailed below.

Factor conditions refer to a destination's relative competitive position in terms of cultural, physical, environmental, economic conditions and motivational factors to attract visitors. Demand conditions refer to the nature of tourism demand

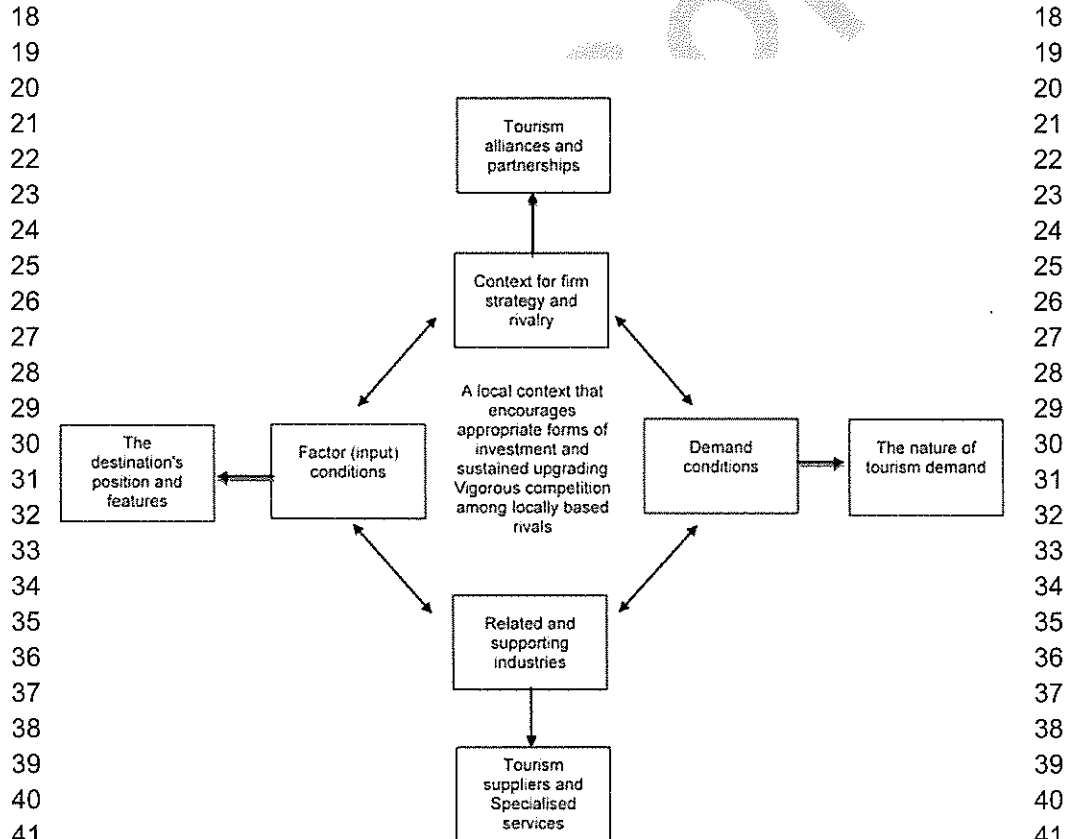


Figure 16.1 Porter's Diamond Model and its applicability to tourism

Source: Adapted from Jackson (2006: 699)

1 for products and services, including tastes and requirements of tourists visiting 1
 2 a destination, and the context for firm's strategies and rivalries that improve the 2
 3 competitive standing of a tourism destination, including mechanisms such as 3
 4 private partnerships and alliances. Related and supporting industries refer to the 4
 5 presence or absence of actors providing cluster members with custom-made high 5
 6 quality inputs, components and specialised services e.g. providers of hotel and 6
 7 restaurants food, good personnel training schools, engineers, and technicians that 7
 8 define a tourism area's competitive position. 8

9 The co-location of firms does not guarantee clustering. That is, attractions 9
 10 located in proximity to each other do not automatically enjoy reductions in the 10
 11 average costs to member firms nor do they enjoy economies of-scale and of- 11
 12 scope (Michael 2007). However, co-location is relevant when considering tourism 12
 13 clusters (Jackson and Murphy 2006), especially where the synergetic relationships 13
 14 of production are comprised of a few sub-products (economies of scope), with 14
 15 each contributing to production of the overall tourism product (Michael 2007). 15
 16 The co-location of restaurants, retail outlets and other services can engender the 16
 17 development of synergetic relationships. For example, a major theme park may 17
 18 sell one ticket that includes entrance fee, a meal in a local restaurant, transport 18
 19 to/from a hotel, and special discounts for buying souvenirs in local shops. 19

20 But the definition of a tourism cluster is necessarily contested; it can be 20
 21 used to describe a destination as an array of linked, synergetic products and 21
 22 services or it might denote entities located in close proximity but in competition. 22
 23 While recognising that clusters also stimulate complementarity, the co-location 23
 24 of complementary firms does not guarantee generation of synergies or cost 24
 25 efficiencies amongst them, which can be a result of employing cluster mechanisms 25
 26 (Weidenfeld, Butler and Williams 2009). Cooperation between neighbouring 26
 27 attractions, particularly in marketing (Fyall, Leask and Garrod 2001), results in 27
 28 economies of scale, while there are also issues relating to minimising transportation 28
 29 costs and distance for visitors in terms of mobility between visitor attractions 29
 30 (agglomeration economies). 30

31 The 'cluster' concept has been increasingly used and recognised in recent 31
 32 years as an essential element in regional economic development strategies (Burfitt 32
 33 and McNeill 2008, Hall 2004, Leibovitz 2004). Ketels (2003) notes that although 33
 34 cluster theories do not necessarily provide specific guidance for the construction 34
 35 of economic development strategies, they have variously informed, or at least been 35
 36 used to label numerous policies and industry initiatives underpinned by spatial 36
 37 concentration. Although there is little evidence that policy interventions can 37
 38 speed cluster development or increase the effectiveness of existing ones, clusters 38
 39 are increasingly popular with regional development agencies in most European 39
 40 countries (Novelli et al. 2006). 40

41 Alongside policy discourses that advocate the role of clusters, there are also 41
 42 counter discourses. Burfitt and McNeill (2008) question the extent to which 42
 43 evidence shows that clusters raise productivity, profitability and innovation, 43
 44 and whether the design of policy initiatives are effective and well targeted. Not 44

1 surprisingly, there is also considerable debate about the implications of cluster 1
2 initiatives and their outcomes in various aspects of their objectives, geographical 2
3 scale, level of government intervention, approach (e.g. top down versus bottom 3
4 up) and scale of financial intervention (Burfitt and McNeill 2008). Furthermore, 4
5 the cluster concept is continuously redefined by stakeholders' interests, which 5
6 are often marginalised in networking and clustering strategies (Dredge 2006). 6
7 Therefore, taking a more localised approach to policy actions is needed. 7

8 Cluster theory has been criticised for having little resemblance to industrial 8
9 clusters in the 'real world', for being superficial, and for lacking both universality 9
10 and specificity (Michael 2007, Leibovitz 2004, Novelli et al. 2006). It is also 10
11 criticised as being complex, vague and poorly defined, particularly in terms of 11
12 the difficulties in delimiting a cluster geographically. However, '... not all the 12
13 arguments underlying clusters are compatible with each other ...' (Newlands 2003: 13
14 527). Sometimes the arguments are contradictory, for example, spatial proximity 14
15 engenders building trust and strong personal relationships between actors but also 15
16 leaves labour open to poaching and allowing benefits to be easily externalized. In 16
17 the latter example, agglomeration economies may actually represent a deterrent 17
18 to investment in the strengthening of social networks and trust (Newlands 18
19 2003). Spatial clusters do not guarantee the automatic emergence of positive 19
20 economic and development benefits (Raco 1999). Spatial clustering may even 20
21 impede development and progress through mutually reinforcing local or regional 21
22 routines. These can include long-term agreements and embedding traditional 22
23 conventions amongst cluster members, which inhibit technological advancement 23
24 and innovations (Newlands 2003) and lock in an adherence to conventional 24
25 ideas with less openness to innovations (Boschma 2005). Supporting structures 25
26 and policy interventions can contribute significantly to the failure or success of 26
27 clusters (Nordin 2003). However, '... clusters are to some extent accidents of 27
28 history, reflecting the impact of past choices ... rather than a sensible planning 28
29 outcome, but their development is also influenced by the appearance and growth 29
30 of reinforcing institutions' (Newlands 2003: 525). 30

31 Tourism clusters, in the context of industrial groupings, reveal significant 31
32 variations in the composition of economic relations between firms in the public 32
33 policies to which they are subject, in the nature of demand and supply and the 33
34 ongoing processes of change. Change can occur as a result of agglomeration 34
35 processes, such as development of new firms, which increases their density and 35
36 influences the levels of competitive and collaborative relationships amongst them. 36
37 Nordin (2003) suggests that government interventions or frameworks need to be 37
38 tailored to local circumstances. The following three aspects are identified in the 38
39 literature as key issues in cluster processes and policies (Figure 16.2): (1) forming 39
40 networks and collaboration (e.g. Hall, Lynch, Michael and Mitchell 2007); (2) 40
41 balancing cooperation and competition; and (3) facilitating knowledge transfer and 41
42 innovations (Michael 2007). These issues emanate from the cluster concept and 42
43 underlie setting up policy guidelines. Although these issues are separately discussed 43
44 in this chapter, we acknowledge that they may be interrelated and overlap. 44

1	<i>Forming Networks and Collaboration</i>	1
2		2
3	Networks provide '... the social oil that allows the economic engine of a cluster	3
4	formation to operate' (Hall et al. 2007: 144). In practice, regional and local	4
5	policy-makers focus on supporting public-private collaborations and promoting	5
6	collective learning processes, including the encouragement of networks and	6
7	partnerships between large companies, Small and Medium-sized Enterprises	7
8	(SMEs), trade associations, universities and research institutes, further education	8
9	colleges, training providers and promotional and economic development agencies	9
10	(Jackson 2006). There are, however, multiple ways to translate Porter's (1991,	10
11	1998) cluster concept into close associations between firm networking and public-	11
12	private partnerships, including a 'top-down' approach, a 'bottom-up' approach as	12
13	well as '... initiatives ranging from policies for supporting small-scale business	13
14	networks without a particular sectoral focus to large-scale programmes targeting	14
15	a specific, geographically limited industry' (Hallencreutz and Lundequist 2003:	15
16	536).	16
17		17
18	<i>Balancing Cooperation and Competition</i>	18
19		19
20	The balance between competition and cooperation within clusters is an important	20
21	determinant of the direction of public policy, especially the balance between the	21
22	tendency to cluster to create economies of scale. Competition between potential	22
23	clustering firms, rather than a cooperative business environment, might lead	23
24	new entrants to try to capture the benefit of externalities for themselves. Such	24
25	conditions will benefit the initiating firms, but may deter complementary entrants	25
26	from joining the cluster, hindering its regional growth (Michael 2007). Instead, co-	26
27	operation (cooperative competition) should guide tourism cluster firms to compete	27
28	more effectively with those outside the cluster (Buhalis 2006, Michael 2007) while	28
29	benefiting from the cluster's externalities (Michael 2007).	29
30		30
31	<i>Enhancing Innovation Mechanisms</i>	31
32		32
33	Encouraging co-opetition in tourism while maintaining a viable competitive	33
34	environment is interrelated to facilitating knowledge transfer and diffusion of	34
35	innovations amongst tourism enterprises (Figure 16.2). Co-opetition is essential	35
36	for the innovations that drive renewal or replacement of existing economic	36
37	structures. Innovations are the essential motor of growth of market economies, but	37
38	this often requires state interventions, for example to speed up the restructuring of	38
39	small businesses (Keller 2006). Tourism clusters are considered a fertile 'breeding'	39
40	ground for innovation, particularly if the clusters are characterised by Unique	40
41	Selling Propositions (USPs), which endow them with competitive advantage	41
42	that distinguishes and differentiates them from other clusters. However, clusters	42
43	in general, including tourism clusters with USPs often lack a solid grounding in	43
44	research and development and practices to 'automate' and make innovation a	44

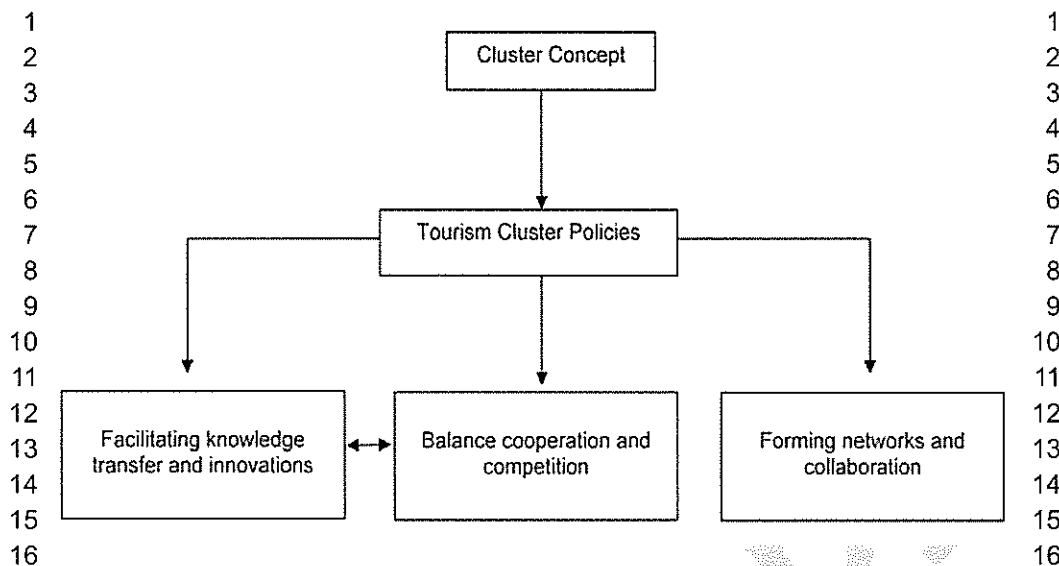


Figure 16.2 Tourism cluster policies

matter of routine. In these circumstances, the state can intervene to disseminate knowledge about clusters, promote research and development and train labour (Keller 2006).

Research Approach

In the following section, the case study context, research approach and methods are outlined. Given that a key focus of the research was to explore differences between the conceptualisation and in-situ meaning of clusters, a comparative case study was considered the ideal approach. The attraction sector was selected for this study because it is relatively under-researched and is a key component of the tourism experience product (e.g. Fyall, Leask and Garrod 2002, Watson and McCracken 2002, Middleton and Clarke 2001, Swarbrooke 2001). Given that the relationships between different levels of spatial concentration between tourism businesses can explain the concept and meanings of tourism clusters, it was decided to study two contrasting clusters (in terms of levels of density of tourism businesses) in England, where cluster policy has been developed and delivered primarily at the regional level (Burfitt and McNeill 2008).

Case Study Context

The Newquay and the Lizard Peninsula are broadly similar in size (c.230 square kilometres) and are situated within Cornwall in the South West of England (Figure 16.3). They were selected because their economic structures and spatial

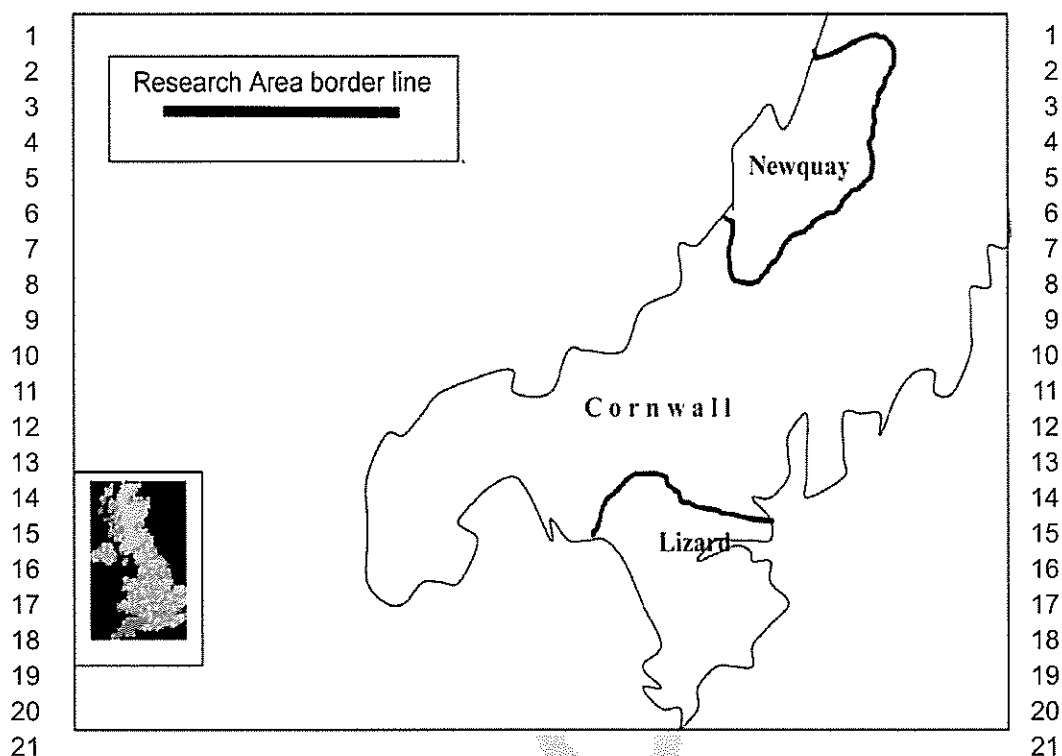


Figure 16.3 The boundaries of the research areas Newquay and the Lizard Peninsula

densities (i.e. conditions for spatial proximity) potentially offer two contrasting understandings of clusters and tourism policies.

The Lizard Peninsula is dominated by a large area of central moorland, incised wooded valleys and a coastal environment of coves, beaches and cliffs. Lizard Point is a geographical feature of national significance being the southernmost point in Britain (Kerrier District Council 2002). Its main attractions are its relatively undeveloped coast and a mix of attractions (heritage and garden attractions and a theme/fun park). In contrast, the Newquay area contains a higher number of tourist attractions at a higher density than 'the Lizard' (Table 16.1). The average minimum travel distance and time by road between any two of attractions is significantly shorter in Newquay (20 minutes and 7.1 miles) than on the Lizard (37 minutes, 9.33 miles) (based on Automobile Association data 2008¹). The Newquay cluster also has better accessibility to private and public transport than the Lizard Peninsula. Newquay brands itself as the capital of water sports and surfing; its main attractions include beaches, and rural and maritime landscapes (Restormel Borough Council 2005).

¹ The Automobile Association ('AA'). Available at: www.theaa.com (accessed: 2 January 2008).

Table 16.1 Tourism attributes of attractions in Newquay area and the Lizard Peninsula

Tourism Attribute	Newquay area						The Lizard Peninsula					
Number of visitor attractions	13						10					
Product type	Ad	Am	G	H	T	W	Ad	Am	G	H	T	W
Number	2	4	0	1	0	6	0	3	4	2	2	1
Density between attractions	20 minutes, 7.1 miles						37 minutes, 9.33 miles					

Note:

Ad – Adventure (e.g. beach activities)

H – Heritage (e.g. museum)

Am – Amusement (e.g. fun/theme park)

T – Thematic (technological display)

G – Gardens

W – Wildlife

Data Collection

The case study adopted a mixed method approach including the collection of background published data and semi-structured interviews with nine policy-makers (e.g. public officials, councillors, local tourism organisation representatives) and 23 tourism attraction operators. Consistent with previous studies (Hajdaš Dončić, Horvat, and Smid 2007, Novelli et al. 2006, Jackson 2006, Jackson and Murphy 2006), evidence from primary and secondary data sources (e.g. tourism association websites, tourism leaflets, advertisements, guidebooks and interviews with nine key informants) provided the data for selecting the clusters, and for delineating their boundaries. Stories of how stakeholders engaged with the concept of clustering were obtained through in-depth interviews. A sample of nine key informants was selected including representatives of local tourism organisations and local government bodies, such as regional development agencies, local and regional authorities, which either directly or indirectly influence tourism and the development and implementation of tourism policies in the study areas. The sample included two regional/local tourism-planning officers, two councillors, two heads of tourism associations, and three tourism professionals, who were influential figures in the Cornish tourism industry.

Participants were selected based on their position, expertise, and knowledge, which was more targeted and appropriate than sampling techniques. A snowball sampling procedure was also implemented by asking the initial respondents to suggest potential councillors and policy makers, who are associated with tourism, to be interviewed (Brunt 1997, Finn, Elliot-White and Walton 2000, Berg 2007). All key informants agreed to participate in the research, although an interview with one councillor had to be substituted with another after the subject acknowledged a lack of involvement in tourism development policies. Informants were asked to define a tourism cluster, to determine its size, and discuss whether they considered this had meaning to an attraction operator. The interviews explored how popular and meaningful the term 'cluster' was for key informants and attraction managers;

1 whether and how tourism policies and guidelines were influenced by the idea of 1
2 clustering; and whether locational decision making was influenced by aspects of 2
3 clustering including cooperation, competition and knowledge transfer between 3
4 attractions. 4

5 In addition, 23 attraction managers were interviewed to develop understandings 5
6 about the reasons for the locations of their attractions, the nature of relationships 6
7 between other attractions in terms of spatial proximity, thematic similarity and 7
8 cluster dimensions (e.g. cooperation, competition and knowledge transfer). 8
9 Interviews in the two tourism clusters were undertaken between February and 9
10 October 2006. The duration of the interviews was between 45 minutes to 90 10
11 minutes. 11

12 For the purpose of this study, a business was considered to be a tourism 12
13 attraction if it was a permanently established excursion destination that charged 13
14 admission for the purpose of sightseeing and attracted mostly tourists (non- 14
15 residents), or allowed access for entertainment, interest, or education, rather 15
16 than being *primarily* a retail outlet or a venue for theatrical, film or sporting 16
17 performances (StarUK 2008). Public, private and voluntary sector attractions were 17
18 included as long as they charged entrance fees. SMEs, were taken to be businesses 18
19 with between ten to 499 employees (Shaw 2004). All attractions in Newquay and 19
20 the Lizard matched the definition of SMEs and were included in the study, and 20
21 the only exclusions were on the grounds of the precise nature of the business 21
22 (e.g. a tourist shop presenting itself as an attraction). Each of the ten attraction 22
23 managers in the Lizard cluster agreed to be interviewed. In the Newquay cluster, 23
24 three attractions did not agree to be interviewed, resulting in a sample of 13 out 24
25 of 16 attractions. All interviews were taped and all relevant sections transcribed, 25
26 and subjects were asked to give permission for direct quotation in any publications 26
27 resulting from the study. Interviews were transcribed and analysed for content and 27
28 meaning (e.g. see Ritchie and Spencer 1994, Waitt 2003). 28
29 29
30 30

31 **Tourism Policies in Cornwall, Newquay and the Lizard** 31

32 32
33 The aim of this research, as previously stated, was to examine whether tourism- 33
34 planning policies address tourism cluster issues (e.g. cooperation, competition, 34
35 and knowledge transfer between attractions). A secondary objective was to explore 35
36 whether the cluster concept has had, or could have, a role in shaping tourism 36
37 policies and in influencing the operation of tourist attractions. In reporting the 37
38 findings, we begin with a review of development and planning policies for the 38
39 sub-region of Cornwall in South West England (SWT 2002 and SWRDA 2005, 39
40 Cornwall County Council 2003, 2004, 2005), and those of the local governments 40
41 to which the territories of Newquay and the Lizard belong (Kerrier District 41
42 Council 2002, 2005a, 2005b, Restormel Borough Council 2001, 2004, Wright 42
43 2000, 2003). Regional and sub-regional tourism planning policies are addressed 43
44 by both Cornwall County Council and regional agencies, such as the South West 44

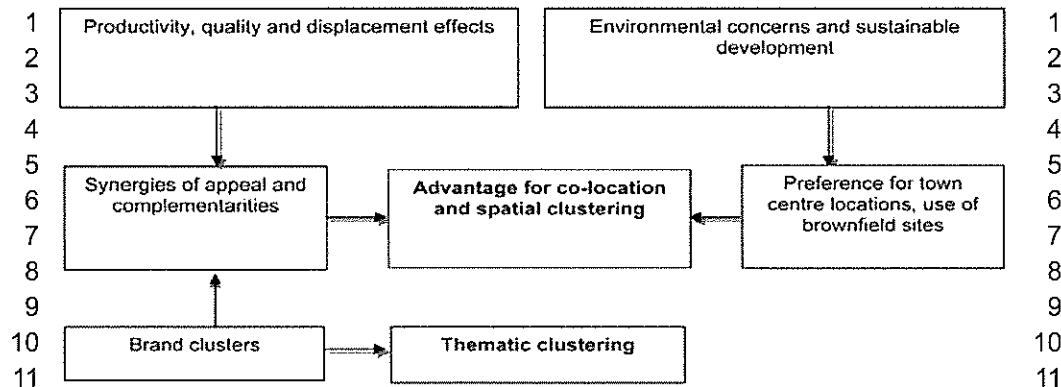


Figure 16.4 Spatial and thematic clustering policy aspects of tourism policies in Newquay and the Lizard Peninsula

Regional Development Agency (SWRDA) and its executive board, South West Tourism (SWT). The latter two are the main regional agencies responsible for tourism in the South West of England, influencing tourism development planning at both regional and the local scales. The review of planning policies reveal three main aspects of clusters (1) environmental concerns and sustainable development; (2) productivity, quality and displacement effects; and (3) thematic diversity and clustering (Figure 16.4).

Preference for town centre locations and use of brownfield sites (i.e. previously developed land) are influenced by environmental concerns, and sustainable development and productivity, quality and displacement effects determine the levels of synergies of appeal and complementarities between visitor attractions. These factors often result in an overwhelming advantage for co-location and spatial clustering, apart from brand clusters (Figure 16.4). Brand clusters are not necessarily based on co-location of tourism firms but on thematic product similarity, which will be further discussed.

All regional and local authorities in Cornwall address spatial location policies with an overwhelming emphasis on sustainable tourism development, including accessibility to public transport and the use of brownfield sites and other spaces within existing urban areas. Tourism policies do not identify Newquay and the Lizard Peninsula as tourism clusters. However, some policies refer both explicitly and implicitly to co-location and clustering between tourism businesses in general, and visitor attractions in particular. High quality attractions (e.g. iconic attractions) are perceived to have a positive impact on spatial clustering resulting in increasing overall destination appeal (SWT and SWRDA 2005). The development of brownfield sites and building within town centres in order to minimize the loss of green spaces, implicitly involves spatial clustering (Cornwall County Council 2004, Kerrier District Council 2002, 2005a, 2005b, Restormel Borough Council

1 2001, 2004, Wright 2000, 2003). However, this tells us little about the relational 1
2 characteristics of clusters. 2

3 Cooperation and innovation are mostly addressed by the SWT and SWRDA's 3
4 (2005) initiative 'Brand Cluster'. This is the only policy initiative relating to 4
5 forming networks and collaboration and a good example of thematic clustering 5
6 that encourages joint marketing initiatives and diffusion of innovations amongst 6
7 similar product attractions and other businesses targeting similar markets. Such 7
8 thematic cluster initiatives focus on the holiday experience that customers are 8
9 perceived to want, regardless of the cluster's spatial location. The aim is '... to 9
10 bring relevant businesses and organisations, including attractions, accommodation 10
11 facilities, entertainment, food and drink, and retail together across the region to 11
12 build and shape their particular cluster' (SWT 2002: 2). In this thematic cluster 12
13 initiative, thematic clusters focus on various forms of tourism and types of holiday 13
14 such as adventure tourism, business tourism, and traditional seaside tourism. 14
15 This cluster framework is seen to encourage tourism businesses to collaborate 15
16 '... through shared market intelligence, identification and development of new 16
17 initiatives to drive up quality, shared promotion and collaboration on product 17
18 development and opportunities facing the cluster' (SWT 2002: 2). For example, 18
19 each cluster will have its own website as its main marketing activity, promoted 19
20 through a variety of targeted campaigns (SWT 2005). 20

21 From this analysis of the existing policy environment, a policy translation gap 21
22 is observed between the tourism cluster as understood in conceptual terms, and 22
23 how clusters are articulated and given meaning in recent development planning 23
24 policies in the study areas. This gap between formal 'written' policies and the 24
25 views of tourism stakeholders on the cluster concept is in part filled by informal 25
26 forms of governance, observable in the 'unwritten' policy guidelines influencing 26
27 the decision planning process. These guidelines include common opinions and 27
28 principles, which are shared by the majority of stakeholders and decision makers 28
29 in tourism clusters but are not legally binding. 29

30 30
31 31

32 **The Cluster Concept and the Role of Formal and 'Unwritten' Policy Guidelines** 32 33 33

34 The study examined whether there is support for the cluster concept amongst 34
35 nine policy makers and practitioners, and how the concept of clusters is perceived 35
36 amongst 23 tourism operators. The nine key informants, who were engaged in 36
37 developing policy guidelines and/or determining planning applications, provided 37
38 insights into how they perceived the actual and potential application of clusters. 38
39 Most of the 23 attraction managers also provided insights into their locational 39
40 decisions. These findings reveal different interpretations of the cluster concept 40
41 within policy mechanisms (such local/regional planning committees), whereby 41
42 policies are set up and interpreted in the form of policy papers (e.g. regional 42
43 strategy papers and local plans). 43

44 44

1 *Text: The Cluster Concept* 1

2 2

3 Most key informants understood the term 'cluster' as an organisational structure 3
 4 that provided opportunities for cooperation and partnerships between attractions 4
 5 and other tourism businesses. Some key informants were very familiar with the 5
 6 cluster concept in relation to other industries, but less so tourism. Key informants 6
 7 envisaged co-location and cooperative competition between firms: 7

8 8

9 A tourism cluster to me works at four levels. The first is people who collaborate 9
 10 on marketing, the next level is to collaborate on business performance, and 10
 11 that's issues to do with benchmarking against each other, wage rates etc. The 11
 12 third level is to do with solving shared problems and real practical opportunities 12
 13 ... and none of them do the last two, which is to do with skills labour supply, 13
 14 maybe procuring systems together, be it electronic system, if I'm thinking about 14
 15 attractions. The fourth level, I would say about any cluster, is about research 15
 16 and innovation and creativity. I used to come from mainstream economic 16
 17 development ... (Key Informant, senior officer in a regional agency). 17

18 18

19 In a way, you have got a group of businesses and a range of activities in a sector, 19
 20 which is related closely to each other. Clusters are a good term, because that 20
 21 does cover a lot of what you have been hinting at, because you are bringing in 21
 22 physical proximity, a degree of uncritical mass and you are also talking about 22
 23 linkages (Key Informant, planning policy officer). 23

24 24

25 [a cluster is] ... a group of businesses, which have co-located, ... not because 25
 26 of joint collaboration or the willingness to co-locate, [but] for an outside force, 26
 27 [such as] location, available market, and is really a fight for markets (Key 27
 28 Informant, senior tourism officer in Cornwall Enterprise). 28

29 29

30 Cluster size or configuration was also perceived differently; some key informants 30
 31 referred to a cluster as having an optimal geographical size. One (a head of a 31
 32 tourism association), thought 'cluster' related to the number of visitors, and another 32
 33 (a senior officer in a regional agency) claimed that optimal size varied depending 33
 34 on '... on the size of the city, it's the natural networking that takes place in that 34
 35 size of area. So if you take the Lizard, it's probably the whole Lizard Peninsula. 35
 36 If you take Newquay, it's going to be within five miles of Newquay'. Another key 36
 37 informant (a head of a tourism alliance), illustrated his answer by pointing to an 37
 38 estimated radius around Newquay or the Lizard: 38

39 39

40 ... if you take Newquay and draw a 10 mile line around Newquay, it encompasses 40
 41 everything you know, that goes out as far as probably, Holywell Bay fun Park, 41
 42 Dairyland, and those in Newquay the Zoo, Aquarium, Tunnels Through Time 42
 43 and you have to go, if you look at it, there is not one that is more than 10 miles 43
 44 from Helston. Helston is in the Central point, you take a 10 mile radius. 44

1 Four key informants were uncertain about the meaning of the term and understood 1
 2 it as 'where tourists visit and stay' or as a synonym for a destination: '... I think 2
 3 it has to be an area where tourism is a major industry' (Key Informant). Only two 3
 4 key informants defined the cluster concept in terms of how attractions operated 4
 5 together. Most of the key informants admitted the concept was unknown to most 5
 6 attraction and tourism business operators: '... but the majority know very little 6
 7 [about the cluster concept] and I'd be surprised if they'd come across it. It's a new 7
 8 concept for tourism to work in clusters. It should do' (key informant). Another key 8
 9 informant, who is also a senior tourism policy officer, voiced a similar opinion: 9
 10
 11 It is a term you don't normally associate with tourism attractions. You know 11
 12 what a business cluster is, whether it is IT [Information Technology] or medical 12
 13 or whatever, and there is always symbiotic relationships, and you can see lots of 13
 14 options of clustering working. 14
 15
 16 A key informant, who was previously a tourism officer, was more critical and 16
 17 doubted whether 'cluster' meant anything to an attraction operator: 17
 18
 19 I think it is very elitist clap shot. What an attraction is looking for at the end of 19
 20 the day, is to get marketing bullocks, what an attraction operator would want 20
 21 is, where is my business coming from? How do I increase my business? That's 21
 22 what they are looking for, and also am I offering a good product? The thing that 22
 23 people are looking for now is Cornish identity, and what we have got to come 23
 24 from is what does the customer want [customer oriented approach]? 24
 25
 26 One key informant (a councillor) was quite sarcastic, implying that the term was 26
 27 another 'mantra' to increase chances of getting EU funding: 27
 28
 29 The world cluster has suddenly become the "in" word. Where is this? Where 29
 30 does it come from? Why are we suddenly starting to call [them] clusters? I have 30
 31 been to Brussels recently, heard the word "innovation". If you want money, 31
 32 that's what it is all about, getting money if you "I-nno-vate ... " (accentuates the 32
 33 word grotesquely). 33
 34
 35 The difference in the way key informants (including those who were or still are 35
 36 attraction managers) perceived and interpreted the cluster concept, in the context 36
 37 of tourism, illustrates that it has very little to do with running tourism businesses in 37
 38 general, and tourist attractions in particular. Even though key informants may not 38
 39 recognise the term 'cluster', four of them recognised relationships that are typical 39
 40 of clusters such as cooperation and competition, and six respondents recognised 40
 41 Newquay and the Lizard as geographical tourism clusters. An important finding in 41
 42 this regard is that the cluster concept does not appear to affect or shape development 42
 43 and planning policies. It is not surprising, therefore, that 'clusters' do not appear 43
 44 in or guide tourism development itself. However, as the next section reveals, the 44

1 determination of planning applications was influenced by unwritten' guidelines 1
2 that are related to the principles of cluster policies. This use of the concept provides 2
3 the sub text to our story of the way that tourism planning and policy take place. 3
4 4 4
5 5 5
6 **Subtext: Cluster Policies in Decision Making for Visitor Attractions** 6
7 7 7
8 When discussing the tourism policies and guidelines underlying the determination 8
9 of planning applications, most of the key informants placed an overwhelming focus 9
10 on practical issues such as environmental impacts, infrastructure availability and 10
11 sustainability issues. Planning applications are challenged on aspects such as road 11
12 access: 'Will it create too much traffic in a certain area?' 'Is there suitable sewage 12
13 capacity' or 'Is public transport available and how accessible is the proposed 13
14 development site?' (key informants). Other informants noted that: 14
15 15 15
16 If you wanted to develop a large attraction on the Lizard, then the first 16
17 thing it would be is "what about the road?" I mean that would be a major 17
18 consideration. 18
19 19 19
20 Another key informant tried to place the notion of clusters in perspective: 20
21 21 21
22 ... No, I don't think they are promoting clustering. In theory, you are looking at 22
23 the whole issue of sustainability. So if somebody can get them from somewhere 23
24 to somewhere else by public transport without having to drive, especially in 24
25 rural areas, that would be a bonus. 25
26 26 26
27 A key informant, who took part in development control process for new attractions, 27
28 revealed that planning applications had generally been considered without 28
29 reference to the presence or absence of neighbouring businesses and attractions, 29
30 let alone the particular focus of those attractions: 30
31 31 31
32 ... I don't think of that in attractions, it is not my business; I am a farmer, that's 32
33 my background. And I believe in primary industry, we are in the real world. I see 33
34 that visitors perhaps have things to go to, I understand that. But ... for example, 34
35 the camel attraction, they needed a planning permission, did they? They didn't! 35
36 They just turned up. So all you do you look at them, but you don't really look at 36
37 them in relation to others. 37
38 38 38
39 This key informant also claimed that disregard for the locations of other attractions 39
40 was the norm in the planning process, which was primarily influenced by 40
41 commercial and other reasons associated with the specific conditions of a particular 41
42 site. Key informants were also unaware of tourism policies addressing the impact 42
43 of spatial proximity on clustering of visitor attractions and regarded tourism 43
44 planning applications as being similar to other planning decisions, such as that for 44

1 the erection of a new prison. Their quote below concedes that although tourism 1
 2 policies do not refer explicitly to competition with neighbouring attractions in the 2
 3 decision making process, other attractions may object to applications submitted 3
 4 by potential competitors on various grounds, but their underlying motive is fear of 4
 5 increasing competition: 5
 6 6
 7 I don't think proximity has ever had any effects on whether planning permission 7
 8 has been granted as such. What you have to remember is that if somebody wants 8
 9 to open a new theme park like Flambards, two miles up the road, Flambards 9
 10 would object strongly. The councillors would have to take notice of such 10
 11 objections. 11
 12 12
 13 Similarly, displacement of visitors from one attraction to another was mentioned 13
 14 in the context of co-location and competition: '... the displacement aspect is a 14
 15 key criterion for lots of people considering attractions. Will this truly be a benefit 15
 16 to visitors or will this just displace visitors who would've gone to that attraction 16
 17 to come to this one?' These issues, related to clustering, are ignored by formal 17
 18 policies as alluded to by a key tourism officer in a regional agency, who was 18
 19 asked whether planning policies address clustering: 'No, the policies don't address 19
 20 clustering, it's probably people given advice, like us ... There hopefully will be 20
 21 [clustering related policies] in the new regional spatial strategy but there's nothing 21
 22 at the moment'. Although the majority of key informants did not argue that policies 22
 23 in general address this issue, one of them assumed that they might '... discourage 23
 24 close proximity and clustering of similar businesses ... [and that] complementary 24
 25 attractions are probably encouraged'. 25
 26 The closer we look at how individual tourism attractions have emerged over 26
 27 time, the more difficult it is to provide a simple account of the relationship between 27
 28 tourism policy and the presence or absence of notions of clustering in policy 28
 29 formation. This is particularly evident when considering accounts of the historical 29
 30 reasons for the locations of attractions on the Lizard cluster: 30
 31 31
 32 ... just look at the attractions you have on the Lizard. They are all there, not 32
 33 because somebody said "this is a good place for a tourist attraction", but because 33
 34 something was already there ... The first thing is if you take Goonhilly [a 34
 35 thematic-technology park attraction]. That was put there originally as the ideal 35
 36 place for the dishes. Flambards [a mixture of fun and theme park] was actually 36
 37 started by an ex-commander in the navy, who was able to buy scrap aeroplanes 37
 38 off the navy and put them on a site next to Culdrose. The Seal Sanctuary 38
 39 started because there were pools of sorts and seawater, and people would bring 39
 40 seals in. Even Poldark mine, which we've said was not successful, was there 40
 41 because there was a mineshaft that was actually adaptable to what it did ... (Key 41
 42 Informant, councillor). 42
 43 43
 44 44

1 Another key informant described in detail the application process of the Seal 1
2 Sanctuary: 2
3 3
4 ... the gentleman was saying "I want a place to put six seals", you know, where 4
5 we all had doubts what he really wanted and we were quite right, he simply 5
6 wanted a massive holiday attraction, which he very cleverly worked out and 6
7 then moved away. Now it is all about environment, looking after sick animals, it 7
8 wasn't like that when it started. It was a straight forward attempt to make money 8
9 and worked out to get to that (Key Informant, councillor) 9
10 10
11 Similarly, in Newquay, some attractions were found to have been established in 11
12 other forms, such as a farm or a wildlife sanctuary, and developed into visitor 12
13 attractions for various reasons, such as commercial opportunities that became 13
14 viable with the movement from agriculture to tourism, or simply by chance. For 14
15 example, a wildlife attraction '... was never set up as ... well, it was never set up 15
16 as a zoo. It was actually set up exactly as a rescue and rehabilitation centre for 16
17 wild birds preying ...' (Key Informant, a wildlife attraction manager). Another 17
18 landowner '... was a big poultry farmer who had one of the biggest egg distribution 18
19 businesses and then in the 1980s was it ... salmonella ... he also went bankrupt 19
20 and that's when he set this up ... first of all as a garden centre'. These premises 20
21 were developed eventually into a wildlife attraction as well. 21
22 Here, 'unwritten' or informal clustering policies and its implications for 22
23 cooperation between attractions in Newquay were identified by a key informant as 23
24 influential factors on development control process: 24
25 25
26 ... there was a proposal there to build a hotel. And a part of the argument (that the 26
27 owners of Dairyland [a wildlife attraction] put) was that more people would stay 27
28 on the site. That was refused and they went to appeal but they lost it. There is 28
29 also a proposal very near there now to have a ski slope, very close to Dairyland 29
30 but then again it is just in Carrick. And one of the arguments, which is the people 30
31 promoting the ski slope, apart from the fact that it was on the main road to 31
32 Newquay was the proximity to Dairyland and other big attractions, so you would 32
33 have a cluster developed (Key Informant). 33
34 34
35 Another wildlife attraction in Newquay evolved in a similar process: 35
36 36
37 It was actually a farm and they opened a campsite next door, and they realised 37
38 to be competitive in Cornwall they needed to offer more than just a campsite, 38
39 so what they did is open a golf course next door first and it all started fairly 39
40 two years ago with a car track and it's gradually being built up ever since (Key 40
41 Informant and a wildlife attraction manager). 41
42 42
43 The emergence of another amusement park attraction in Newquay shows a 43
44 similar a tendency to clustering of attractions: 'they [the local authority] were 44

1 developing [a garden attraction] that had been there since the 1930s and they were 1
 2 interested in developing tourist facilities so they added [an amusement attraction] 2
 3 to their development'. The advantage of proximity between attractions was also 3
 4 used to advocate the approval of a new tourist attraction next to an existing one. 4
 5 Not only was the impact of spatial proximity and density between attractions on 5
 6 the appeal to visitors proclaimed, but also that of thematic similarity: 6

7
 8 ... I think the best one to my mind was the National Maritime Museum, 8
 9 Cornwall, where when that was being developed in the planning permission, it 9
 10 was very much seen as one that can become at the centre of a more attractive 10
 11 offering because you had the small local museum, you had the whole of the 11
 12 waterfront that needed doing, and you had Falmouth itself, living off sailing, and 12
 13 the Maritime Museum would create a hub and a focus for what was a maritime 13
 14 theme. Because you need an icon in the middle of it, so that's probably a very 14
 15 positive and obvious one ... The other one I would actually say is Fistril Blue 15
 16 at Newquay, where they needed to raise the quality and provision of support on 16
 17 the beach for the visitors. Not a classic attraction, but one that is seen as adding 17
 18 to the quality of the product in providing an area where retail could operate from 18
 19 (Key Informant). 19

20
 21 This example illustrates that a combination of spatial proximity, thematic 21
 22 product similarity and complementarity between attractions and other retail 22
 23 outlets were considered advantageous for creating synergies of appeal between 23
 24 attractions. It appears that the supportive arguments in planning applications 24
 25 included complementary relationships and spatial-thematic clustering. A key 25
 26 informant also highlighted the need to consider the element of complementary 26
 27 relationships between attractions: 'What I mean is, you don't want exactly two 27
 28 zoos, but you might be talking about a zoo and then something natural in the local 28
 29 environment'. Unfortunately, '... the policies that are there ... They don't make 29
 30 it explicit enough' (Key Informant). In practice, it appears that entrepreneurs or 30
 31 investors consider these issues, which are addressed by the planning system, as 31
 32 explained by a head of a tourism association, whose view reflects those of others: 32

33
 34 ... [locations of other attractions in the vicinity] ... wouldn't get the planning 34
 35 [consideration]. I think the managers or the owners of the attractions would 35
 36 already decide that it wouldn't be the right thing to do. While if somebody across 36
 37 the road wants to build something the same as this, they will go with their point, 37
 38 because they already got them. So I wouldn't have thought that it would come 38
 39 into planning" (Key Informant). 39

40
 41 It appears that most clustering issues are viewed as commercial considerations 41
 42 best left to market forces, as argued by an experienced tourism professional and 42
 43 the head of a tourism association: 'The difficulty in England is that planning 43
 44 applications are based on whether you are allowed to build on a certain area 44

1 and not on the business needs'. In other words, as in other areas of the United 1
2 Kingdom planning policy and practice, the strategic and operational issues 2
3 relating to individual businesses (let alone clusters of businesses) are not formally 3
4 considered. However, as this study reveals, these commercial considerations often 4
5 involve considerations of competition, including displacement effects, as well 5
6 as synergies of appeal and complementarities amongst attractions and between 6
7 attractions and other businesses. Yet these issues – which are at the core of the 7
8 cluster concept – are not represented in tourism policies. However, they are 8
9 identified as informal guidelines used by tourism protagonists, decision makers 9
10 and investors. Moreover, some of these unwritten guidelines are interrelated, such 10
11 as synergies and complementarities. 11

12
13

14 **Conclusions** 14

15 15
16 The aim of the chapter was to explore the theoretical and practical application 16
17 of the concept of clusters by examining engagement with and resistance to the 17
18 concept of clusters within tourism policy and practice, drawing on a case study of 18
19 tourism attraction clusters and policy making in Cornwall, England. In particular, 19
20 it has examined how the opaqueness of tourism clusters has contributed to 20
21 contested meanings, to difficulties in embodying the cluster concept in policies, 21
22 and in implementing notions of clusters via development approval processes. 22
23 The chapter has contributed to the understanding of tourism planning processes, 23
24 principles and practices by exploring formal tourism policies in two destination 24
25 clusters that are complemented by several 'stories' of visitor attractions in terms 25
26 of locational decision-making and some management aspects. A comparative case 26
27 study of two attraction clusters in Cornwall provided the opportunity to examine 27
28 how clusters are defined, understood, given meaning and implemented (or not). In 28
29 particular, the chapter looked at the relationship between the theoretical concept, 29
30 how it is formally conceptualised in policy and how it is informally given meaning 30
31 and life. 31

32 Similar to other 'stories' in this book, the 'stories' told by the policy documents, 32
33 the key informants and the tourism attractions owners/managers have unfolded 33
34 different theoretical positions that provide important insights, and expose readers 34
35 to the complex and historically dependent way that tourism planning and policy 35
36 have developed. They reveal the people that influence and shape tourism planning 36
37 and policy-making processes as well as the complicated webs of relationships 37
38 between key players, gaps and ambiguities between formal and informal tourism 38
39 planning policies and the locational decision making in practice. Although the 39
40 stories told here are necessarily relatively short, they provide insights into the 40
41 policy gaps between theories and practices that are in many ways typical of the 41
42 policy and planning framework for attractions and other tourism facilities. In this 42
43 way, they contribute to critical reflection upon the causal relationships between 43
44 the different actors and planning policies that shape tourism clusters. This chapter 44

1 suggests that storytelling in the form of anthology can contribute to revealing 1
2 translation and implementation gaps between planning theory and practice, and 2
3 the messiness of individual decision making in the real world that is revealed by 3
4 considering the sub-text of tourism policies. 4

5 At the beginning of this chapter, the overview of academic literature on clusters 5
6 and regional development established that it is a well-developed concept. Within 6
7 this literature a shift was observed over the last two decades, from unquestioning 7
8 acceptance of clusters as a tool for economic development to a more critical 8
9 stance. Social constructionist research has sought to tease out the difficulties and 9
10 opportunities associated with clusters, and highlighted that the concept is not 'a 10
11 golden chalice' for economic development and innovation. In the field of tourism, 11
12 there has been little attention placed on exploring the concept of clusters, much less 12
13 the barriers and opportunities to implementation. The research described in this 13
14 chapter makes a contribution to the literature then by elaborating a particular story 14
15 of practice – a story wherein a theoretical concept well established in literature is 15
16 shown to be vague and problematic in the daily lives and actions of both public 16
17 officials and attraction operators. 17

18 This chapter reveals the co-existence of formal (text) and 'unwritten' (sub- 18
19 text) of policy. The case study findings show that the cluster concept remains a 19
20 theoretical domain rather than having become incorporated into the professional 20
21 language of tourism policy makers and developers (Michael 2007, Leibovitz 2004, 21
22 Novelli et al. 2006). A policy climate dominated by neoliberalism is characterised 22
23 by selective commercial interests playing a significant role in the planning process 23
24 and shaping the growth of visitor attractions. It is too early to tell whether the 24
25 'crisis of capitalism' which was revealed in the Global Financial Crisis of 2009–10 25
26 will lead to either significant changes in regulatory systems in the 'main street' 26
27 economy as well as the financial sector. It is also unclear whether this crisis will 27
28 have implications for the development of tourism attractions. 28

29 This case study of two tourism clusters found that tourism policies and guidelines 29
30 did not significantly shape the determination of planning applications in Cornwall. 30
31 Determination was driven predominantly by sustainability and environmental 31
32 concerns. Such concerns were given greater weight in development control 32
33 processes than tourism clusters and related concepts of cooperation, competition, 33
34 innovations and regional appeal, largely because they were not considered as 34
35 relevant to public sector planners. Spatial and thematic clustering was found not 35
36 to be grounded in policy guidelines and regulations, although they were found 36
37 to affect the selection of sustainable locations for new tourism businesses and 37
38 attractions. Notwithstanding the gap between text and sub-text that we outlined 38
39 earlier, competition for and appeal to visitors play a major role in determining 39
40 many planning decisions. However, while regional/local competition between 40
41 tourism businesses is important, cooperation, knowledge transfer and innovations 41
42 were neither explicitly considered nor acknowledged by most of the decision- 42
43 makers identified in this research. 43

44 44

1 The study also revealed a disregard in policy guidelines for the specific features 1
2 of production and consumption in the tourism industry, along with inconsistencies 2
3 between policy guidelines and the actual practices that underpin the processing 3
4 of planning applications. The locations of visitor attractions, and the shaping of 4
5 tourism spaces, do reflect the emergence of tourism clusters but these are driven 5
6 more by individual private capital interests, than by interventions by decision 6
7 makers and formal or informal policy guidelines. The policy gap is therefore 7
8 characterised by two factors: (1) a failure to incorporate clusters in formal policies 8
9 at the regional and local scales, and (2) a gap between formal policies and unwritten 9
10 guidelines in determining planning applications for new attractions. 10
11 This chapter has also provided an opportunity to enhance our understandings 11
12 of the challenges of tourism planning, policy making and governance in 12
13 translating clustering policies into practice. The planning process, resulting 13
14 in the co-location and clustering of visitor attractions has been explored using 14
15 a critical, social constructionist approach whereby contradictory forces play out 15
16 in the decisions and actions of various stakeholders. The study also sought to 16
17 contribute understandings of the applicability of Porter's (1991, 1998) cluster 17
18 theory to tourism. Factor and demand conditions, such as thematic clustering and 18
19 complementarities affecting visitor preferences (Weidenfeld et al. 2009) do play 19
20 out in the locational decision making process. While issues such as a concern for 20
21 the spatial proximity of potential competitors were not the focus of this research, 21
22 they are present in the 'sub-text' of how planning applications for new attractions 22
23 are dealt with in practice. 23
24 Clustering strategies are mostly characterised by a 'bottom-up' approach 24
25 (Hallencrutz and Lundquist 2003) through informal (sub-text) policies, 25
26 implemented by both public and private sector stakeholders, who shape the 26
27 development planning process in the context of local circumstances. This process 27
28 addresses the issue of how to consider the full range of stakeholders' interests, many 28
29 of which tend to be marginalised by tourism formal policies in both the clusters 29
30 (Dredge 2006). The chapter showed that tourism clusters are mostly the outcome 30
31 of accidental and deliberate actions, facilitated mostly by sub-text policies, that 31
32 reflect power struggles and commercial interests, typical of the general relational 32
33 complexities of tourism planning and policy making (Newlands 2003). A key 33
34 conclusion of the study then is that explicit clustering policies should be pursued 34
35 not only for their economic logic, but in order to address the range of stakeholder 35
36 interests, which are often ignored by current planning strategic policies. 36
37 Further attention should be given to increasing the awareness of both local 37
38 and regional authorities and entrepreneurs of the importance of incorporating 38
39 aspects of collaboration (particularly in marketing) (Fyall et al. 2001), knowledge 39
40 transfer and diffusion of innovations into locational decision making processes. 40
41 Finally, while the story told here is of two clusters in Cornwall, this case study 41
42 has implications for understanding both the general gap between theories and 42
43 practices, as well as a continuing neglect of fundamental economic concepts which 43
44 44

- 1 is distinctive of although by no means unique to, tourism in the United Kingdom, 1
 2 and perhaps to other developed countries. 2
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 4 4
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